1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may include only part of them.

(c) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group. In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient —this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two portions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *barzum*[3] or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

[3] The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

takes place. Here an individual learns the modes of behavior towards others that he requires for an adequate and successful social life in Kanuri society. The kinship system, the family, and the household produce individuals who can live in other households; and using the basic modes of behavior from household life they can participate in the widely ramified political and economic organization of their society. Thus kinship, family, and household—but most importantly the household and the superior-subordinate relations within it—provide a basis and a locus for maintaining the society and its values in their present form.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

man must have had a very successful life and belong to the upper ranks of society where power and wealth give him the opportunity to build up the necessary following during his lifetime. Peasants can achieve the ideal if they have through accident or a successful career been able to build up political and economic resources that enable them to maintain a growing compound. For those men who cannot obtain a position of semi-independent leadership in their old age, there is also the possibility of membership in someone else's organization. In this way a man can look forward to a secure position even though his own household as part of it is a very small one. For many other men old age brings neither leadership nor successful subordination. A son, friend, or neighbor may regularly help with the farm plot, or if less successful the man and perhaps an aging wife live alone in a small compound in their village. He is given some general respect as an older person. If he lives in the same community as his children there may be young grandchildren constantly around, and whether they live in the same community or not he may be fostering one of more grandchildren in his compound. Whatever the alternative, and unlike our own society, old age even at its poorest provides an accepted and respected place for old men.

Many old women after a number of divorces or the death of a husband with whom they have lived for many years do not or cannot marry again. This does not seem to be the case nearly so often for the men. If the woman has a son, he is expected to keep her in his compound which may have been the compound of her husband. If she has no son, she may stay in or near the compound of some other relative, including an ex-husband whom she refers to by using the kin term applied to "brother."[4] I have seen a few old women living alone in the compound of their dead husbands although, like old men, most of these seemed in constant touch with young children. Whether or not she is being supported economically by her relatives, any old woman in the lower ranks of society has an accepted role as a small retail seller who sits daily in front of the compound or small market stalls around the town, or near a well, selling a few ground-nuts, sundries, cooked food, or tobacco flowers for staining the teeth of women. Four old women in Magumeri, one of whom lived completely alone, had saved up money to buy themselves a native well, and these four supported themselves on a fairly steady income from the sale of the water. Such practices are not suddenly started; a woman raises extra cash throughout her entire life by petty trade or the sale of cooked foods and with the onset of old age she merely extends these activities into a full-time occupation.

Women from higher ranking households remain in the compounds of their sons or relatives. Very likely they have been secluded as young married women and this continues in their old age. The widow of a high-ranking man is on occasion supported in his compound by the heir to the household. However, if the new household head has his own aging mother alive, then it is more common for the widow to leave her dead husband's household and return to her own kin since her co-wife is now taking over the position of mother of the head of the household. Many of these upper class women have more capital than their lower class counterparts. This started with their dowry and may have been increased through inheritance and trade since the time of their youth. Such trade is carried

[4] The Kanuri use a single kin term to refer to brother, sister, cousins of any kind, and half brothers and sisters, although each of these can be distinguished if need be.

6. The Web of Kinship.

61 It was noted earlier that, according to Fortes, the rise of the state marks a decline in the importance of corporate descent groups. Fortes cites the Nupe as a case in point. Nadel, who has described the Nupe in detail, has this to say about kinship:

> "Let me say in conclusion that kinship structure in Nupe is not that dominant, all-enveloping structure which we know from many primitive societies. Although it bears upon religious life, education, and the organization of production, it is greatly overshadowed as a determinant of social behavior by the factors of political organization and, in economic life, by economic interests proper."[1]

This is even more true for the Kanuri, who have no kin groups, than it is for the Nupe, who are patrilineal in descent and have
61 patrilineages. The Kanuri recognize kinship as an ever-widen-
602 ing network of relationships. Behavior towards one's various relatives is structured and follows cultural rules of respect and joking as the case may be, but, as in most bilateral societies, only the personal kindred exists, definable for any given individual but without the formal properties of a group.

• 601 The word dur is used in referring to both family and relatives. The Kanuri distinguish between relatives linked through one's mother, referred to as dur chambe(family through milk), and relatives linked through one's father, called dur bube (fam-
602 ily through blood). They say that the dur bube (father's family)
627 is stronger than the dur chambe, and in explanation they offer the following example: if a child is killed by someone, the

1 S. F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 33.

Chapter IV

[p.50]

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Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

Kinship Terminology (1)

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In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur. This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.

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The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

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Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The first term, kèsai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouse's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for kinship diagrams and a table of kinship terminology.

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of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kèsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kèsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kèsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

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For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the differential division of inheritance as between males and females on the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

[591] [428] [671]

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Terms of reference are most generally formed from the terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanun (your mother) or yansè (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

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(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

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as a term of reference. The terms given in the appendix for full and half-siblings are only very rarely used as terms of reference, and never in addressing the person involved. The polite and proper behaviour being the use of sibling terms, and if finer distinctions become necessary, the relationship is referred to descriptively, a very common practice in referring to kinship relations. Informants claimed that the "real" term for ego's father's other wives is ya chintu (far mother) and its reciprocal is tada chintu (far child, male). However, the term is considered derogatory, even in reference, and would only be utilized if there were well developed antagonism between the actors. Ego, in order to be polite, should use the terms of reference and address for Fa-Sis, when speaking of or to his father's other wives. On the other hand, these latter women will never speak of ego as tadanyi (my child, male) as the real Fa-Sis might easily do, but refer to ego as tada kwanyi (my husband's [597] child). The only time the rule is broken is when ego's mother dies and he is adopted by one of his mother's co-wives. Then she is called either ya (mother) or the Fa-Sis term is kept in use, and ego may now be referred to as tadanyi (my male child) by his father's other wife. The same thing occurs between ego and his mother's other husbands besides ego's father. There are reciprocal terms which are derogatory and indicate bad feeling between the parties if they are used - aba chintu (far father) and again tada chintu (far child, male) - whereas rawa (Mo-Bro) is the polite term unless ego wishes to insult his mother's husband. The reciprocally polite term is tada kamunyi (my wife's child, male) or tada kèraminyi (my Yo-sibling's male child).

It has been mentioned that siblings rather than use the

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called nungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bərzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarizes the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin. (1)

[115] 602 124 128

(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

607 [587] Informants 72.

say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded [601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

605 [601] There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his 605 601 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings 605 [582] into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalised in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

• 601 Kanuri Kinship Terminology

ya	Mo, Mo-Sis, Mo-Mo, Fa-Mo, any older female
yakura	Mo-Ol-Sis
yinna, yagana (rare)	Mo-Yo-Sis
rawa, raba	Mo-Bro, Fa-Sis-Hu, Mo-Hu, Mo-Hu (not own father), Mo-Divorced-Hu.
aba, ba'a, baba	Fa-Bro
abakura, ba'kura, babakura	Fa-Ol-Bro
bawa, baba	Fa-Sis, Mo-Bro-Wi, Fa-Ol.Bro-Wi, Fa-other-wives, M-co-wives
abagana, ba'gana, babagana	Fa-Yo-Bro
yangana	Fa-Yo-Bro-Wi
kaka, ka'a	Mo-Mo, Mo-Fa, Fa-Mo, Fa-Fa, any old person, Wi-grandparents, all sons and daughters of ego's own children, with less frequency - the sons and daughters of people ego calls son and daughter. For 2nd descendent generation, only as term of address.
yeiya	anyone on the 3rd ascendant and descendant generation of ego's kin relations.
yeiyari	Anyone of ego's kin relations beyond the 3rd ascendant generation.
yanyiana	Bro, Sis, Half-Bro, Half-Sis, Ol-cross and parallel cousins of either sex.
kàrami	Yo-Bro, Yo-Sis, Yo-Half-Bro, Yo-Half-Sis, Yo-cross and parallel cousins of either sex.
yabe	same as kàrami, not used often, also any person junior to ego.
shakik (rare)	full brother, sister.
aba'ana (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same father
kalala (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same mother

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tada	own son, own children's sons, own children's male grandchildren, junior male cousins and their male descendants, general term for male child of any one.
fero	same as tada, only female.
diwo	grandchild (reference)
fändi	child of a cousin marriage
khsai	senior in-law, Wi-parents and their collaterals, Wi-Ol-Siblings (sometimes)
tiu	junior in-law, Wi-Siblings real and classificatory especially juniors, all wife's junior relatives
kamunyi	my wife (reference)
kwanyi	my husband (reference)
tiuäma	spouse of wife's collaterals

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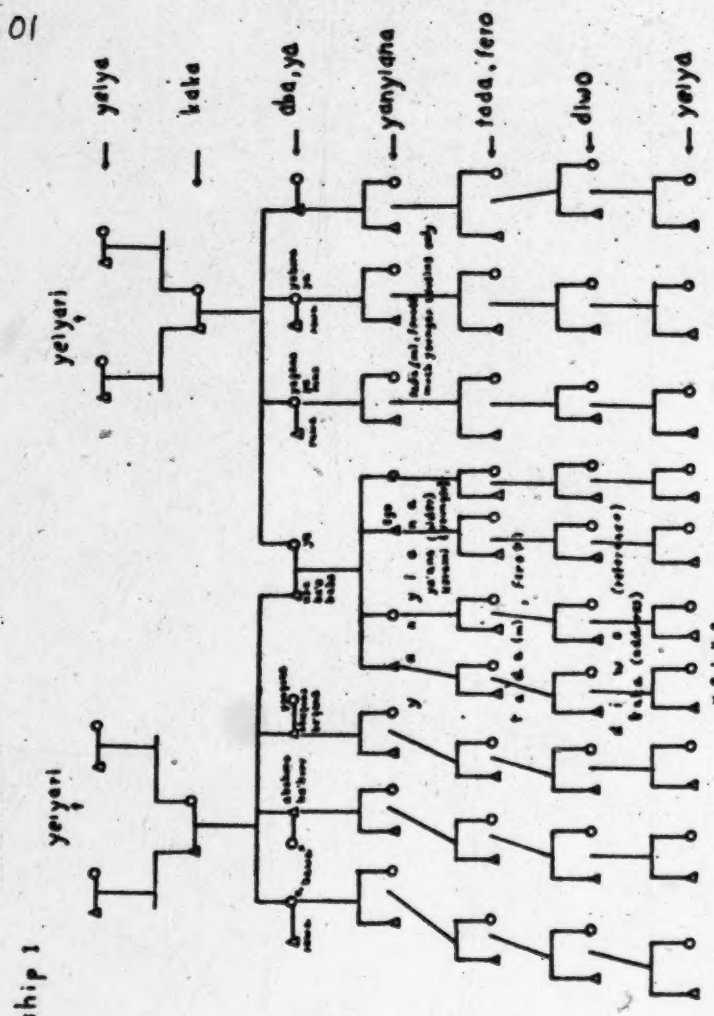

Kinship 1

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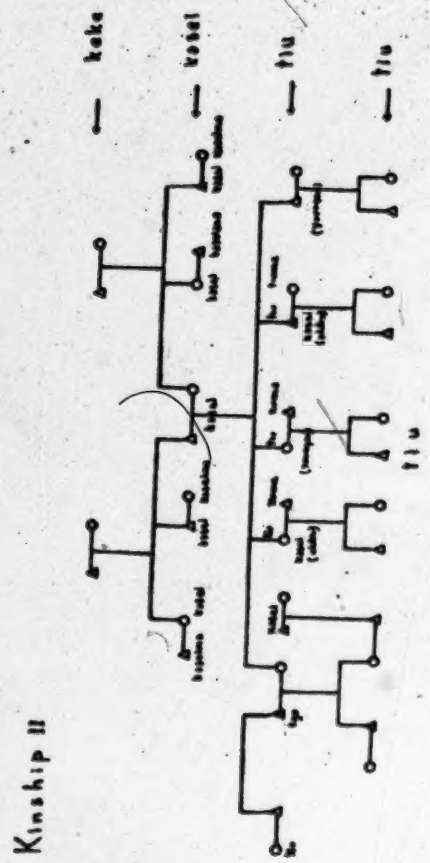

Kinship II

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child
601 is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as bawa (Fa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a [565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her baawa (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at [601] their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. [842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 603 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-